

REMARKS

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BEFORE THE

CHIEF EXECUTIVES ORGANIZATION

WASHINGTON, DC

OCTOBER 27, 1987

I HAVE ENJOYED MY ASSOCIATION WITH YPO GROUPS OVER THE YEARS. YOU KNOW HOW TO HAVE A GOOD MEETING, AND THOSE OF US WHO HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF PARTICIPATING IN YOUR SESSIONS COME AWAY FEELING THAT WE TOO HAVE LEARNED A GREAT DEAL.

I WAS RECENTLY GIVEN A BUTTON THAT SAYS: "MY JOB IS SO SECRET THAT EVEN I DON'T KNOW WHAT I'M DOING."

THIS MORNING, IN VIEW OF ALL THAT HAS BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN RECENTLY ABOUT SECRECY AND INTELLIGENCE GATHERING, I THOUGHT I'D TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE WAY WE MANAGE AND GUIDE AN EFFECTIVE INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION. THERE ISN'T ANY DOUBT THAT SECRETLY GATHERED INTELLIGENCE IS VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

IT IS ALSO TRUE, IN MY VIEW, THAT FOR INTELLIGENCE TO BE EFFECTIVE, FOR IT TO BE ACCEPTED IN THIS KIND OF SOCIETY, AND FOR IT TO BE USEFUL TO POLICYMAKERS, IT MUST BE CONDUCTED OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, AND LAWFULLY. AND THERE MUST ALSO BE A TRUSTWORTHY SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

THE SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT IS ONE OF THE WAYS BY WHICH WE DEAL WITH AMERICA'S RELUCTANCE TO HAVE ITS AFFAIRS GOVERNED IN SECRET. THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS, AS YOUR SURROGATES, MUST ENSURE THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES ARE CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES. TODAY, INTELLIGENCE -- PARTICULARLY INTELLIGENCE AFFECTING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY -- MUST BE TIMELY AND ACCURATE. INTELLIGENCE IS NECESSARY TO FORMULATE AND CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS NECESSARY TO VERIFY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, TO UNDERSTAND MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE INTENTIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES.

THE PRINCIPAL INTELLIGENCE CONSUMERS ARE, OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, SECRETARIES OF STATE, DEFENSE, AND TREASURY, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES. EVERY MORNING THE PRESIDENT RECEIVES A VERY CAREFULLY PREPARED DAILY BRIEFING FROM THE CIA. KEY CONSUMERS RECEIVE COPIES OF THIS. THEY ALSO RECEIVE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, PREPARED BY THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, WHICH I CHAIR. THIS COMMUNITY INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE CIA, THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY, THE DEFENSE

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, AND OTHER MILITARY INTELLIGENCE COMPONENTS. THE ESTIMATES WE PRODUCE ATTEMPT TO LOOK OUT INTO THE FUTURE, TO ASSESS WHAT SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL CHANGES MEAN IN TERMS OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD.

THE INFORMATION IN THESE ESTIMATES IS COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS INTELLIGENCE SOURCES. IT DOES NOT COME SOLELY FROM HUMAN SOURCES, NOR DOES IT COME SOLELY FROM TECHNICAL SOURCES. ONLY BY COMBINING ALL OF OUR INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING CAPABILITIES CAN WE ASSIST OUR GOVERNMENT IN DOING WHAT IT NEEDS TO DO.

FROM TIME TO TIME, THE VALUE OF HUMAN INTELLIGENCE IS DEBATED. I DON'T ENTER THIS DEBATE EXCEPT TO SAY THAT WITHOUT HUMAN INTELLIGENCE WE COULD NOT DETERMINE THE INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES OF OUR ADVERSARIES. A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS OCCURED IN IRAN IN THE 1970S. SOMEHOW, WITH ALL OF OUR TECHNICAL CAPABILITY, WE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL FOR REVOLUTION THAT EXISTED. BUT WE DO GET A GOOD DEAL OF INFORMATION -- PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF ARMS CONTROL -- THROUGH TECHNICAL MEANS. BUT TECHNICAL INTELLIGENCE WILL NOT GIVE US THE "WHY" OF IT. IT WILL NOT TELL US THE INTENTIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES.

VAST AMOUNTS OF MONEY ARE SPENT BY THIS GOVERNMENT ON OTHER SOURCES OF INTELLIGENCE, INCLUDING SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE, THE INTERCEPTION OF MESSAGES THAT WILL HELP US BETTER UNDERSTAND WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD, AND IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE, THE INTERPRETATION OF AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY. BOTH SOURCES GIVE US VERY, VERY IMPORTANT INFORMATION. OUR IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY IS ASTONISHING. WE CAN FOCUS ON CRITICAL ACTIVITY TAKING PLACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THAT MAY AFFECT OUR FUTURE.

EARLIER THIS SUMMER I VISITED NORAD, AT CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN, WHICH IS A PRINCIPAL PART OF OUR NATION'S EARLY WARNING SYSTEM. A DAY THERE CAN'T HELP BUT MAKE ONE REALIZE THAT WHEN WE THINK OF OUR NATIONAL SURVIVAL, WE MUST THINK IN TERMS OF MINUTES, NOT HOURS OR DAYS. SO IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT WE HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF GETTING INFORMATION TO POLICYMAKERS QUICKLY ENOUGH FOR THEM TO MAKE INTELLIGENT DECISIONS.

I HAVE MENTIONED SOME OF THE METHODS BY WHICH WE ACQUIRE INTELLIGENCE, BUT NONE OF THESE METHODS WOULD BE MEANINGFUL IF WE DID NOT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO

WISELY ANALYZE THE INFORMATION WE ACQUIRE. AND A GREAT DEAL OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S INVESTMENT IN HUMAN RESOURCES IS SPENT ON UNDERSTANDING AND MAKING SENSE OUT OF THESE BITS AND PIECES OF INFORMATION. FROM THIS INFORMATION COMES THE ESTIMATES THAT PERMIT US TO PROJECT WHERE WE'RE GOING AND WHAT OUR PROSPECTS ARE. I WAS LOOKING AT THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE THAT WE PRODUCED IN JUNE ON THE PERSIAN GULF. I'M VERY PLEASED WITH THE QUALITY OF THE ESTIMATE THAT WAS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY OF STATE, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AND OTHER POLICYMAKERS WHO WERE TRYING TO DETERMINE WHAT THE IRANIANS WILL DO IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC ACTIONS, WHAT THEIR LONG-RANGE INTENTIONS ARE, AND WHAT WE NEED TO DO TO COPE.

PART OF THE RECENT HISTORY OF INTELLIGENCE RAISES A QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE OR ANYONE ELSE IN THIS BUSINESS TO "COOK THE BOOKS," TO PROVIDE ONLY THOSE PIECES OF INTELLIGENCE THAT FIT THE DIRECTOR'S VIEW OF THE WORLD, THEREBY SKEWING OR INFLUENCING THE JUDGEMENT OF POLICYMAKERS. I SUPPOSE THAT SUCH THINGS ARE POSSIBLE, BUT I THINK THAT WE HAVE TAKEN NECESSARY STEPS TO GUARANTEE BOTH THE

INTEGRITY AND THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS PROCESS. I WON'T DISCUSS DETAILS, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ARE SATISFIED THAT THEIR POINTS OF VIEW ARE ALWAYS REFLECTED IN THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, EVEN WHEN THEY DISAGREE. IN FACT, I ENCOURAGE DEBATE, BECAUSE THAT'S HOW TRUTH EMERGES. WE DON'T SEEK THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR OF OPINION IN OUR INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, BUT WE TRY TO REFLECT THE BEST JUDGMENT OF THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. WHEN DIFFERENCES OF OPINION OCCUR, WE REFLECT THEM CLEARLY. WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN THE POSITION THAT OUR ESTIMATES ARE PREPARED FOR THE USE OF POLICYMAKERS. THE ESTIMATES MAY BE READ OR IGNORED, THEY MAY BE USED IN WHOLE OR IN PART, THEY MAY BE TORN UP OR THROWN AWAY. BUT THEY MAY NOT BE CHANGED. AND POLICYMAKERS HAVE ACCEPTED THIS.

THERE IS A COMPLEX PROCESS BEHIND THE PREPARATION OF THESE ESTIMATES, AND THERE ARE MANY LEVELS OF REVIEW BEFORE AN ESTIMATE IS APPROVED AND SENT FORWARD. IN BUSINESS YOU WOULD CALL SUCH A PROCESS A "FULL VETTING." AND I AM VERY CONFIDENT THAT DURING THIS PROCESS, THE TRUTH COMES FORWARD.

BUT WE'RE NOT JUST COLLECTING AND ANALYZING INFORMATION AND SENDING OUT ESTIMATES ON TRADITIONAL NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY TODAY WITH THE FBI AND OTHER AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST SUCH THREATS AS TERRORISM, NARCOTICS, AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER. AND WITH THE USE OF OUR INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING AND ANALYTICAL CAPABILITIES, WE ARE MAKING MAJOR INROADS IN ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS. YOU MAY HAVE READ RECENTLY ABOUT THE APPREHENSION OF A TERRORIST IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THAT WAS A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT BETWEEN THE LAW-ENFORCEMENT AND INTELLIGENCE COMPONENTS OF THIS COUNTRY, AND I THINK IT IS TYPICAL OF THE KIND OF WORK THAT WE ARE ABLE TO DO TOGETHER.

OUR MOST CONTROVERSIAL ACTIVITY IS, OF COURSE, COVERT ACTION. THIS ACTIVITY PROBABLY CONSUMES LESS THAN THREE PERCENT OF THE TOTAL INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY RESOURCES. WHILE NOT DEFINED BY LAW, COVERT ACTION IS UNDERSTOOD TO REFER TO ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY SO THAT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT APPARENT.

I WANT TO POINT OUT THAT EVERY PRESIDENT IN MY LIFETIME, FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FORWARD, HAS ENDORSED AND USED COVERT ACTION TO SUPPORT FOREIGN



POLICY. IN MANY COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, OUR HELP IS NEEDED, BUT GOVERNMENTS DON'T WANT OUR PRESENCE PUBLICLY KNOWN FOR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL REASONS OF THEIR OWN. IN OTHER SITUATIONS, IT IS THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS COUNTRY TO SUPPORT AN INSURGENCY GROUP THAT IS ATTEMPTING TO LIBERATE ITS COUNTRY FROM AN UNDEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE PROVIDE ASSISTANCE -- WHETHER HUMANITARIAN, PARAMILITARY, OR LEGAL. BUT PRINCIPLES EXIST TO GUIDE WHAT WE DO AND HOW WE DO IT.

I THINK THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF UNCERTAINTY AND ANXIETY AS A RESULT OF THE IRAN-CONTRA HEARINGS ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT COVERT ACTION IS BEING MANAGED PROPERLY -- OR AT ALL. BUT I WANT TO BE AS REASSURING AS I CAN ON THIS SUBJECT. WE HAVE IN PLACE AT THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY A COVERT ACTION REVIEW GROUP THAT EXAMINES ALL OF THE PROPOSALS FOR COVERT ACTION. SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS ARE GENERATED IN THE FIELD BY OUR OFFICERS, OTHERS ARE REQUESTED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. THE COVERT ACTION REVIEW GROUP APPLIES SEVERAL RIGID TESTS TO EVERY PROPOSAL, SUCH AS: WILL IT WORK? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERT FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED

STATES? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES? AND, IF PUBLICLY EXPOSED, WILL IT MAKE SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

THE IRAN-CONTRA SITUATION WAS A DEPARTURE FROM THESE PRINCIPLES. IN DEALING WITH IRAN, WE CAME UP WITH A COVERT ACTION PROPOSAL THAT WAS CONTRARY TO OUR OVERT FOREIGN POLICY. WE WILL NOT DO THAT AGAIN. OUR PROPOSALS MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR UNITED STATES OVERT POLICY.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT WE HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF GATHERING INTELLIGENCE RELATING TO OUR COVERT ACTION PROGRAMS IN STRICT SECRECY. YOU CAN'T CARRY OUT CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES WITHOUT SECRECY. THAT MAY BE A REDUNDANT STATEMENT, BUT IT IS VERY TRUE, AND LIVES ARE AT STAKE.

BOTH CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SECRECY. THE MAIN PURPOSE, OF COURSE, IS TO PROTECT OUR SOURCES AND METHODS. IF OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION AROUND THE WORLD ARE FEARFUL THAT WE'RE GOING TO EXPOSE THEM, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GET THE KIND OF INFORMATION THAT WE NEED TO PROTECT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. IF THE CLANDESTINE METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT

INTELLIGENCE -- WHETHER BY ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OR OVERHEAD SYSTEMS --  
BECOME KNOWN, THEY CAN BE DEFEATED. WHEN YOU HEAR US FIGHTING FOR SECRECY, WE  
ARE TRYING TO PROTECT OUR SOURCES AND METHODS.

CONGRESS, THROUGH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT, HAS  
RECOGNIZED THAT INFORMATION PROVIDED BY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES SHOULD  
BE PROTECTED FROM DISCLOSURE. IF YOU COULD SEE THE AMOUNT OF MAIL THAT WE  
HAVE RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT BOB WOODWARD  
BOOK, YOU WOULD UNDERSTAND HOW SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ARE ON  
THE ISSUE OF PROTECTING THEIR SOURCES AND METHODS.

THE FOREIGN SURVEILLANCE ACT, WHICH DETAILS HOW THE FBI CONDUCTS  
SURVEILLANCE IN THIS COUNTRY, ALSO CLEARLY PROVIDES FOR SECRECY. SO SECRECY  
IS NOT FOREIGN TO OUR SOCIETY. BUT THE QUESTION WE FACE IS: HOW DO WE ENSURE  
THAT THE PUBLIC IS SATISFIED THAT WE ARE DOING THINGS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE  
LAW?

CONGRESS HAS PASSED A NUMBER OF LAWS TO ADDRESS THIS QUESTION. WE'RE  
REQUIRED TO NOTIFY THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES AND CONGRESS FULLY OF OUR

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. WHEN NECESSARY TO PROTECT OUR SOURCES, THE PRESIDENT CAN LIMIT THAT NOTIFICATION TO THE SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, THE MAJORITY LEADERS, AND THE HEADS OF THE COMMITTEES -- REFERRED TO, IN TRADE PARLANCE, AS THE "GANG OF EIGHT."

THE PRESIDENT MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR COVERT ACTION. HE MUST FIND THAT THE COVERT ACTION IS NECESSARY FOR OUR NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE IT CAN GO FORWARD, AND I THINK THIS IS WISE. ANYONE WHO HAS HEADED AN ORGANIZATION, AND MOST OF YOU HAVE, KNOWS HOW IMPORTANT IT IS THAT YOU NOT BE SURPRISED BY ANY ACTION. I THINK THAT MOST OF US WOULD AGREE THAT IT IS MUCH BETTER TO TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A BAD DECISION THAN TO SAY THAT THE DECISION WAS MADE WITHOUT OUR KNOWLEDGE. BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE COVERT ACTION REVIEW GROUP THAT I DESCRIBED EARLIER, THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER REVIEW GROUPS. SO ALL OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY CONSIDER THE COVERT ACTION. AND, BY THE TIME THE PRESIDENT SIGNS OFF ON THE PROPOSAL, THE ENTIRE LEADERSHIP OF THE GOVERNMENT KNOWS ABOUT IT AND SUPPORTS IT. I THINK THIS IS A GOOD A GOOD WAY TO CONDUCT BUSINESS -- IF YOU CAN MAINTAIN SECRECY, AND THAT'S PART OF THE PROBLEM, OF COURSE.

THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT REQUIRES THAT CONGRESS BE NOTIFIED WITHIN 48 HOURS OF A FINDING. AND THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID HE WILL NOTIFY THEM, UNLESS THERE IS AN EXTRAORDINARY LIFE-THREATENING SITUATION. I HAVE NO DIFFICULTY WITH NOTIFYING CONGRESS IMMEDIATELY. I DON'T THINK THAT CONGRESS SHOULD EVER BE KEPT OUT OF THE DECISIONMAKING PROCESS. THEY HAVE AN OVERSIGHT REVIEW RESPONSIBILITY AND THEIR REACTIONS ARE VERY USEFUL TO US IN DETERMINING WHETHER A PARTICULAR COVERT ACTION CAN BE DONE EFFECTIVELY, AND WHETHER WE CAN EXPECT TO HAVE PUBLIC SUPPORT WHEN THE ACTION BECOMES PUBLIC.

OURS IS A CHALLENGING AND FASCINATING PROFESSION, ESPECIALLY FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR WORK IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN FAME OR FORTUNE, FOR THOSE WHO SEE IN THEIR WORK AN OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THEIR HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS FOR A SAFER AND BETTER WORLD. THOSE ARE THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHO WORK IN INTELLIGENCE TODAY, AND I'M PROUD OF IT. INDEED, I BELIEVE THE KEY TO SUCCESS IN A FREE SOCIETY IS THE INTEGRITY OF ITS PEOPLE. THE NEED FOR INTEGRITY IS PERHAPS BEST EXPRESSED BY SIR WILLIAM STEPHENSON, AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE WHO IS THE SUBJECT OF THE BOOK A MAN CALLED INTERPID. IN THE BOOK'S INTRODUCTION HE

WROTE: "PERHAPS A DAY WILL DAWN WHEN TYRANTS CAN NO LONGER THREATEN THE LIBERTY OF ANY PEOPLE. WHEN THE FUNCTION OF ALL NATIONS, HOWEVER VARIED THEIR IDEOLOGIES, WILL BE TO ENHANCE LIFE NOT TO CONTROL IT. IF SUCH A CONDITION IS POSSIBLE, IT IS IN A FUTURE TOO FAR DISTANT TO FORESEE. UNTIL THAT SAFER, BETTER DAY, THE DEMOCRACIES WILL AVOID DISASTER AND POSSIBLE TOTAL DESTRUCTION, ONLY BY MAINTAINING THEIR DEFENSES. AMONG THE INCREASINGLY INTRICATE ARSENALS ACROSS THE WORLD, INTELLIGENCE IS AN ESSENTIAL WEAPON. PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT. BUT IT, BEING SECRET, IS THE MOST DANGEROUS. SAFEGUARDS TO PREVENT ITS ABUSE MUST BE DEVISED, REVISED, AND RIGIDLY APPLIED. BUT AS IN ALL ENTERPRISE, THE CHARACTER AND WISDOM OF THOSE TO WHOM IT IS ENTRUSTED WILL BE DECISIVE. IN THE INTEGRITY OF THAT GUARDIANSHIP LIES THE HOPE OF FREE PEOPLE TO ENDURE AND PREVAIL."

I BELIEVE VERY DEEPLY IN WHAT SIR WILLIAM STEPHENSON HAS WRITTEN. I BELIEVE THAT IN THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY OF INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS, AS WELL AS IN THE USE OF SPECIAL ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN POLICY, INTEGRITY IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BOTH ON THE EXECUTIVE AND ON THE

CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. WE IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE WHO MUST MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS BY PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY AND PROFESSIONALLY, AND BY HELPING THEM PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. WE MUST WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH, IN SECRET MATTERS, ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF OUR COUNTRY. IN MY VIEW, A NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF LAW AND CAN PROTECT ITSELF NO OTHER WAY.